CHARACTER
AND
NATION BUILDING

M. K. GANDHI

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
AHMEDABAD 380 014

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/mkgpamphlet1500mkga

CHARACTER
AND
NATION BUILDING

BY

M. K. GANDHI

ABRIDGED AND EDITED BY

VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
AHMEDABAD 380 014

First Edition, 5,000 Copies, December 1959
Reprint, 5,000 Copies, August 1963
Reprint, 3,000 Copies, November 1976

One Rupee

© The Navajivan Trust, 1959

Printed and Published by
Shantilal Harjivan Shah
Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 380 014

FOREWORD

(Translated from the original Gujarati)

I have gone through this summary [of *From Yeravda Mandir—Ashram Observances* and *Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place*]. The beauty of it is that though it purports to be only a summary, I am not conscious of any incompleteness in it.

M. K. GANDHI

POONA
July 29, 1946

TO THE READER

I would like to say to the diligent reader of my writings and to others who are interested in them that I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my search after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that my growth will stop at the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment and therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject.

M. K. GANDHI

Harijan, Vol. I, No. 12, April 29, 1933, p. 2

CONTENTS

AN OUTLINE OF THE ASHRAM OBSERVANCES

		PAGE
	FOREWORD	iii
I	TRUTH	3
II	AHIMSA OR LOVE	4
III	BRAHMACHARYA OR CHASTITY	5
IV	CONTROL OF THE PALATE	6
V	NON-STEALING	7
VI	NON-POSSESSION OR POVERTY	8
VII	FEARLESSNESS	9
VIII	REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY	10
IX	BREAD LABOUR	11
X	TOLERANCE, I.E. EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS (I)	13
X	TOLERANCE, I.E. EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS (II)	14
XI	SWADESHI	15

Appendix I

	HUMILITY	18

Appendix II

	IMPORTANCE OF VOWS	18

AN OUTLINE OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

	Foreword	21
I	Communal Unity	22
II	Removal of Untouchability	23
III	Prohibition	23
IV	Khadi	24
V	Other Village Industries	25
VI	Villege Sanitation	26
VII	Basic Education	26
VIII	Adult Education	26
IX	Women	27
X	Education in Health and Hygiene	27
XI	Provincial Languages	28
XII	National Language	29
XIII	Economic Equality	29
XIV	Kisans	30
XV	Labour	31
XVI	Adivasis	32
XVII	Lepers	32
XVIII	Students	33
	Place of Civil Disobedience	35
	Conclusion	36
	Appendix	
	Improvement of Cattle	36
	Bibliography	37

AN OUTLINE OF THE ASHRAM OBSERVANCES

अहिंसा[२] सत्य[१] अस्तेय[५] ब्रह्मचर्य[३] असंग्रह[६] ।।
सर्वधर्मसमानत्व[१०] स्वदेशी[११] न[८] अस्पृश्यता ।।
शरीरश्रम[९] अस्वाद[४] अभय[७] व्रत आश्रमे ।।

I

TRUTH

Truth is God (*From Yeravda Mandir*, 1957, p. 1).

Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence.

Without Truth it is impossible to observe any principles or rules in life.

There should be Truth in thought, Truth in speech and Truth in action (ibid., p. 2).

But how is one to realize this Truth? 'By sin gle-minded devotion (*abhyasa*) and indifference to all other interests in life (*vairagya*),' says the Bhagavadgita (ibid., p. 3).

In spite of such devotion, however, what may appear as truth to one person will often appear as untruth to another person. But that need not worry the seeker. . . .For the quest of Truth involves *tapas* — self-suffering, sometimes even unto death. . . . In such selfless search for Truth nobody can lose his bearings for long. Directly he takes to the wrong path he stumbles and is thus redirected to the right path. . . . There is no place in it for defeat. It is the talisman by which death itself becomes the portal to life eternal (ibid., pp. 3-4).

God as Truth has been for me a treasure beyond price; may He be so to every one of us (ibid., p. 4).

II

AHIMSA OR LOVE

Truth alone is, being God himself. And the only means of realizing it is *ahimsa* or Love (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, 1954, pp. 6-7).

Without *ahimsa* it is not possible to seek and find Truth (*From Yeravda Mandir*, 1957, p. 8).

The path of Truth and *ahimsa* is as narrow as it is straight. To walk on it is like balancing oneself on the edge of a sword.... The slightest inattention brings one tumbling to the ground. One can realize Truth and *ahimsa* only by ceaseless striving (ibid., p. 5).

Mere non-killing is not enough. One who follows the law of love must not be angry even with the perpetrator of the greatest imaginable wrong, but must love him, wish him well and serve him. Although he must thus love the wrong-doer, he must never submit to his wrong or his injustice, but must oppose it with all his might, and must patiently and without resentment suffer all the hardships to which the wrong-doer may subject him in punishment for his opposition (*Ashram Observances in Action*, 1959, p. 111).

Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of *ahimsa*. But it is its least expression. For the principle of *ahimsa* is hurt by every evil thought,

by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It is also violated by our holding on to what the world needs (*From Yeravda Mandir*, pp. 7-8).

Ahimsa is the means; Truth is the end. Means to be means must be within our reach, and so *ahimsa* is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later (ibid., p. 9).

III

BRAHMACHARYA OR CHASTITY

The fulfilment of [Truth and] *ahimsa* is impossible without *brahmacharya* (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, pp. 6-7).

It is not enough that one should not look upon any woman or man with a lustful eye; animal passion must be so controlled as to be excluded even from the mind. If married, one must not have a carnal mind regarding one's wife or husband, but must consider him or her as one's lifelong friend and establish relationship of perfect purity. A sinful touch, gesture or word is a direct breach of this principle (*Ashram Observances in Action*, pp. 111-12).

It is a grave misuse to fritter away for physical gratification that which is given to men and women for the full development of their bodily and mental

powers. Such misuse is the root cause of many a disease (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 12).

It may be harmful to suppress the body if the mind is at the same time allowed to go astray (ibid).

It is one thing to allow the mind to harbour impure thoughts. It is a different thing altogether if it strays among them in spite of ourselves. Victory will be ours in the end if we non-co-operate with the mind in its evil wandering (ibid., pp. 12-13).

Brahmacharya means control of all the organs of sense. He who attempts to control only one organ and allows all the others free play is bound to find his effort futile (ibid., p. 13).

Brahmacharya means conduct adapted to the search of Brahma, i.e., Truth. From this etymological meaning arises the special meaning, viz., control of all the senses. We must entirely forget the incomplete definition which restricts itself to the sexual aspect only (ibid., p. 14).

IV

CONTROL OF THE PALATE

I have found from experience that the observance of celibacy becomes comparatively easy, if one acquires mastery over the palate (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 15).

Eating is necessary only for sustaining the body and keeping it a fit instrument for service. It must not be practised for self-indulgence. Food must therefore be taken like medicine with restraint. In pursuance of this principle one must eschew exciting foods such as spices and condiments. Meat, liquor, tobacco, *bhang*, etc., are excluded from the Ashram. This principle requires abstinence from feasts or dinners which have pleasure as their object (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 112).

A common kitchen where this principle is observed is very helpful, for its authorities will not pamper us, but cook only such food as helps to keep the body a fit instrument for service (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 18).

In an ideal state the sun should be our only cook and we should live only on a fruitarian diet (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, p. 14).

V

NON-STEALING

We may steal not only what belongs to others but also what belongs to ourselves, as is done for instance by a father who eats something secretly, keeping his children in the drak about it (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 19).

It is also theft if one receives anything which one does not really need (*Ashram Observances in Action*, pp. 112-13).

One who follows the observance of non-stealing will bring about a progressive reduction of his own wants. Much of the distressing poverty in this world has arisen out of breaches of the principle of non-stealing (*From Yeravda Mandir*, pp. 20-21).

It is theft mentally to desire acquisition of anything belonging to others, or to cast a greedy eye on it (ibid., p. 21).

VI

NON-POSSESSION OR POVERTY

Just as one must not receive, so must one not possess anything which one does not really need. It would be a breach of this principle to possess unnecessary foodstuffs, clothing or furniture. For instance, one must not keep a chair if one can do without it. In observing this principle one is led to a progressive simplification of one's own life (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 113).

God never stores for the morrow. He never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 23).

If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want and all would live in contentment (ibid., pp. 23-24).

Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increases the capacity for service (ibid., p. 24).

Thoughts which turn us away from God or do not turn us towards Him constitute impediments in our way (ibid., p. 25).

VII

FEARLESSNESS

A seeker after Truth must give up the fear of parents, caste, government, robbers etc., and must not be frightened by poverty or death (*Ashram Observances in Action*, pp. 114-15).

Fearlessness heads the list of the divine attributes enumerated in the sixteenth chapter of the Gita. . . . How can one seek Truth or cherish love without fearlessness? As Pritam says, 'the path of Hari [the Lord] is the path of the brave, not of cowards.' Hari here means Truth, and the brave are those armed with fearlessness, not with the sword, the rifle and the like. These are taken up only by those who are possessed by fear (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 27).

The seeker after Truth . . . should be ready to sacrifice his all in the quest of Truth, even as Harishchandra did (ibid., p. 28).

We must give up all external fears. But the internal foes we must always fear. We are rightly afraid of animal passion, anger and the like. External fears cease of their own accord when once we have conquered these traitors within the camp. . . . Fear has no place in our heart when we have shaken off attachment for wealth, for family and the body. 'Enjoy the things of the earth by renouncing them'* is a noble precept (ibid., pp. 28-29).

VIII

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability is altogether irreligious (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 115).

None can be born untouchable, as all are sparks of one and the same Fire (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 31).

Every Hindu who considers untouchability a sin should atone for it by fraternizing with 'untouchables', associating with them in a spirit of love and service, deeming himself purified by such acts, redressing their grievances and helping them patiently to overcome ignorance and other evils

---

*तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः ।

due to the slavery of ages (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 32).

Some people in observing untouchability have become a veritable burden on earth (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, p. 25).

This observance is not fulfilled merely by making friends with 'untouchables', but by loving all life as our own selves. Removal of untouchability means love for and service of the whole world (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 33).

Removal of untouchability spells the breaking down of barriers between man and man and between the various orders of Being (ibid., p. 33).

Caste has injured Hinduism because its implications of superior and inferior status and of pollution by contact are contrary to the law of Love (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 115).

The division of *varnas* is based upon occupation, and therefore a person should maintain himself by following the hereditary occupation not inconsistent with fundamental morals, and should devote all his spare time and energy to the acquisition and advancement of true knowledge (ibid.).

IX

BREAD LABOUR

Man can be saved from injuring society as well as himself only if he sustains his physical existence

by physical labour. Able-bodied adults must do all their personal work themselves, and must not be served by others except for proper reasons. But . . . service of children as well as of the disabled, the old and the sick is a duty incumbent on every person who has the required strength (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 113.)

How can a man who does not do body labour have the right to eat? (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 35).

Every one must be his own scavenger. . . .The best thing would be for every one to dispose of his own waste. If this is impossible, each family should see to its own scavenging. I have felt for years, that there must be something radically wrong where scavenging has been made the concern of a separate class in society. . . . We should, from our very childhood, have the idea impressed upon our minds that we are all scavengers, and the easiest way of doing so is for every one who has realized this to commence bread labour as a scavenger (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 37).

If nature's laws were not broken, old people too would be fit for labour, and sickness would cease to be a ground for exemption as there would be no sickness (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, p. 28).

X

TOLERANCE

i.e.

EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS (I)

The principal faiths of the world constitute a revelation of Truth; but as they have all been outlined by imperfect men, they have been affected by imperfections and alloyed with untruth. One must therefore entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as one accords to one's own. Where such tolerance becomes a law of life, conflict between different faiths becomes impossible, and so does all effort to convert other people to one's own faith. One can only pray that the defects in the various faiths may be overcome and that they may advance, side by side, towards, perfection (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 116).

If we are imperfect ourselves, religion as conceived by us also must be imperfect. . . . And if all faiths outlined by men are imperfect, the question of comparative merit does not arise. All faiths constitute a revelation of Truth, but all are imperfect and liable to error. Reverence for other faiths need not blind us to their faults. We must be keenly alive to the defects of our own faith also, yet not leave it on that account but try to over-

come those defects. Looking at all religions with an equal eye, we would not only not hesitate but would think it our duty to blend into our faith every acceptable feature of other faiths (*From Yeravda Mandir*, pp. 38-39).

X

TOLERANCE
i.e.
EQUALITY OF RELIGIONS (II)

Tolerance obviously does not disturb the distinction between right and wrong, or good and evil. The reference here is naturally to the principal faiths of the world. They are all based on common fundamentals (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 40).

Why then should there be many faiths? We know that there are many faiths. The Soul is one but there are innumerable bodies, which cannot be rolled into one. . . .The root of religion is one like the root of a tree, but it has numerous branches (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, p. 31).

All obstacles in our path will vanish, if only we observe the golden rule that we must not be impatient with those whom we may consider to be in error but must be prepared, if need be, to suffer in our own person (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 44).

XI

SWADESHI

Swadeshi is the law of laws enjoined by the present age (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 61).

The votary of Swadeshi will, as a first duty, dedicate himself to the service of his immediate neighbours. . . . Pure service of our neighbours can never . . . result in disservice to those who are far away, but rather the contrary. . . . On the other hand a man who allows himself to be lured by the 'distant scene' and runs to the ends of the earth for service, is not only foiled in his ambition, but also fails in his duty towards his neighbours (ibid., p. 62).

One must, as far as possible, purchase one's requirements locally and not buy things imported from foreign lands, which can easily be manufactured in the country (*Ashram Observances in Action*, p. 114).

There is no place for self-interest in Swadeshi which enjoins the sacrifice of oneself for the family, of the family for the village, of the village for the country, and of the country for humanity (ibid.).

It would be a travesty of the doctrine of Swadeshi, if to coddle my family I set about grabbing money by all means fair or foul (*From Yeravda Mandir*, p. 63).

Supposing there is an outbreak of plague in my village, and in trying to serve the victims of the epidemic, I, my wife and children and all the rest of my family are wiped out of existence, then in inducing those dearest and nearest to join me, I will not have acted as the destroyer of my family but on the contrary as its truest friend (ibid., p. 64).

'What is the kind of service,' I asked myself, 'that the teeming millions of India most need at the present time, that can be easily understood and appreciated by all, that is easy to perform and will at the same time enable the crores of our semi-starved countrymen to live?' And the reply came, that it is the universalization of Khadi or the spinning wheel alone, that can fulfil these conditions (ibid., pp. 64-65).

Let no one suppose that the practice of Swadeshi through Khadi would harm the foreign or Indian mill-owners. A thief who is weaned from his vice, or is made to return the property he has stolen, is not harmed thereby. On the contrary he is the gainer. . . . Similarly if all the opium-addicts or drunkards in the world were to shake themselves free from their vice, the canteen-keeprs or the opium-vendors, who would be deprived of their custom, could not be said to be losers (ibid., p. 65).

It is the greatest delusion to suppose that the duty of Swadeshi begins and ends with merely spin-

ning some yarn anyhow and wearing Khadi made from it. . . . One often meets men who wear Khadi, while in all other things they indulge their taste for foreign manufactures. Such men cannot be said to be practising Swadeshi. A votary of Swadeshi will . . . help his neighbours, wherever possible, by giving preference to local manufactures, even if they are of an inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere. He will try to remedy their defects but will not, because of their defects, give them up in favour of foreign manufactures (ibid., pp. 65-66).

APPENDIX I
HUMILITY

Humility means complete destruction of egotism. . . .If we shatter the chains of egotism and melt into the ocean of humanity, we share its dignity. To feel that we are something is to set-up a barrier between God and ourselves; to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God. A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent, although it is unconscious of it. But it is dried up as soon as it enters upon an existence independent of the ocean (मंगल प्रभात, Gujarati, 1954, p. 35; *From Yeravda Mandir*, pp. 46-47).

APPENDIX II
IMPORTANCE OF VOWS

God is the very image of the vow. . . .The sun is a great keeper of observances. . . . All business depends upon men fulfilling their promises. Are such promises less necessary in character building or self-realization? (*From Yeravda Mandir*, pp. 51-52).

The limitation 'as far as possible' provides a fatal loophole (ibid., p. 51).

There cannot be a vow to commit a sin (ibid., p. 50).

AN OUTLINE OF THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

१

अयं हिन्दुः अयं मुस्लिम् गणना लघुचेतसाम् ।
अुदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् ॥
हिन्दोः चा मुस्लिमश्चेति केयं स्थानक (स्टेशन) घोषणा ॥

२

बान्धवाः मानवाः सर्वे अस्पृश्यो नास्ति कश्चन ॥

४

हस्तेन कर्तितं यत् स्यात् हस्तप्रोतं तथैव च ।
तद् वस्त्रं परिधातव्यं लोके खादीति कीर्तितम् ॥ १ ॥
खादीवस्त्रे हि निहितं भगिनीशीलरक्षणम् ।
खादीवस्त्रं अहिंसाया आधारो मूर्तिरेव च ॥ २ ॥
खादीमृत्यौ मृता ग्रामा ग्राममृत्यौ मृता दया ।
खाद्या धर्मे तथैवार्थे महासिद्धिर् भविष्यति ॥ ३ ॥
ग्रामनिर्मितवस्तूनि प्रयोक्तव्यानि नागरैः ।
भारतीया भविष्यन्ति ह्येतेन स्ववशाः समाः ॥ ४ ॥

दे. वा.

[गांधीजीप्रणीतग्रन्थानुसारेणैते श्लोका रचिताः ।]

३

अेकतः सर्वपापानि मद्यपानं तथैकतः ॥ चाणक्य ॥

The constructive programme is the truthful and non-violent way of winning *Purna Swaraj*. Its wholesale fulfilment is complete independence (*Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place*, Navajivan, 1948, p. 5).

Satyagraha [civil disobedience] is . . . a full substitute for armed revolt. Training is necessary as well for Satyagraha as for armed revolt. For Satyagraha it means the constructive programme (ibid.).

In violence truth is the first and the greatest sufferer; in non-violence it is ever triumphant (ibid., p. 6).

I

COMMUNAL UNITY

It means an unbreakable heart unity (ibid., p. 8).

The first thing essential is for every Congressman, whatever his religion may be, to represent in his own person Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jew etc., in short every Hindu and non-Hindu. He has to feel his identity with every one of the millions of India. In order to realize this, every Congressman will cultivate personal friendship with persons representing faiths other than his own. He should have the same regard for the other faiths as he has for his own.

In such a happy state of things, there would be no disgraceful cry at the stations such as "Hindu water" and "Muslim water" or "Hindu tea" and "Muslim tea" (ibid.).

We have been accustomed to think that power comes only through legislative assemblies. I have regarded this belief as a grave error. The truth that power resides in the people. . . . Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the people. . . . Civil disobedience is the storehouse of power. . . . Imagine a whole people unwilling to conform to the laws of the legislature and prepared to suffer the consequences on non-

compliance. They will bring the whole legislative and executive machinery to a standstill. . . . No police or military coercion can bend the resolute will of a people who are out for suffering to the uttermost (ibid., pp. 8-9).

II

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Every Hindu should make common cause with Harijans and befriend them in their awful isolation. . . .(ibid., p. 10).

III

PROHIBITION

Medical men have to discover ways of weaning the drunkard and the opium-addict from the curse.

Women and students have a special opportunity in advancing this reform. By loving service they can acquire on addicts a hold which will compel them to listen to the appeal to give up the evil habit.

Congress Committees can open recreation booths where the tired labourer will rest his limbs, get healthy and cheap refreshments and find suitable games (ibid.).

IV
KHADI

It connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country. It... means a determination to find all the necessaries of life in India and that too through the labour and intellect of the villagers (ibid., p. 11).

The formula is: every village to produce all its necessaries and a certain percentage in addition for the requirements of the cities (ibid., p. 12).

Only a few broad rules can be laid down here:

1. Every family with a plot of ground can grow cotton at least for family use.... The farmer needs to know that his first business is to grow for his own needs.

2. Every spinner would buy—if he has not his own—enough cotton for ginning which he can easily do without the hand-ginning roller frame. He can gin his own portion with a board and an iron rolling-pin. Where this is considered impracticable, hand-ginned cotton should be bought and carded. Carding for self can be done well on a tiny bow without much effort....The slivers made, the process of spinning commences. For this I strongly recommend the *dhanush* takli....[for this reason] that it is more easily made, is cheaper

than and does not require frequent repairs like the wheel (ibid., p. 13).

Imagine the unifying and educative effect of the whole nation simultaneously taking part in the processes up to spinning. Consider the levelling effect of the bond of common labour between the rich and the poor (ibid., p. 14).

V

OTHER VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

[These] cannot exist without khadi, and khadi will be robbed of its dignity without them. Village economy cannot be complete without the essential village industries such as hand-grinding, hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil-pressing etc., (ibid., p. 14).

All should make it a point of honour to use only village articles whenever and wherever available. . . .When we have become village-minded, we will not want . . . machine-made products, but we will develop a true national taste in keeping with the vision of a new India in which pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown (ibid., pp. 14-15).

VI
VILLAGE SANITATION

Instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the land, we have dung-heaps. The approach to many villages is not a refreshing experience. Often one would like to shut one's eyes and stuff one's nose, such is the surrounding dirt and offending smell. . . .[We] should . . . make our villages models of cleanliness in every sense of the word (ibid., p. 15).

VII
BASIC EDUCATION

This is meant to transform village children into model villagers. . . . It develops both the body and the mind, and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of the future in the realization of which he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school (ibid., pp. 15-16).

VIII
ADULT EDUCATION

[The villagers] do not know that the foreigner's presence is due to their own weakness and

their ignorance of the power they possess to rid themselves of the foreign rule. My adult education means therefore, first, true political education of the adult by word of mouth. . . . Side by side with it will be the literary education. This is itself a speciality (ibid., pp. 16-17).

IX
WOMEN

Woman must be the true helpmate of man in the mission of service.

She has as much right to shape her own destiny as man has to shape his.

Men have considered themselves to be lords and masters of women instead of considering them as their friends and co-workers. . . . It is up to Congressmen to see that they enable them to realize their full status and play their part as equals of men (ibid., pp. 17-18).

X
EDUCATION IN HEALTH AND HYGIENE

Think the purest thoughts and banish all idle and impure thoughts.

Breathe the freshest air day and night.

Establish a balance between bodily and mental work.

Stand erect, sit erect, and be neat and clean in every one of your acts, and let these be an expression of your inner condition.

Eat to live for service of fellow-men. Do not live for indulging yourselves. Hence your food must be just enough to keep your mind and body in good order. Man becomes what he eats.

Your water, food and air must be clean, and you will not be satisfied with mere personal cleanliness, but you will infect your surroundings with the same threefold cleanliness that you will desire for yourselves (ibid., p. 19).

XI

PROVINCIAL LANGUAGES

It is inherent in Swaraj based on non-violence that every individual makes his own direct contribution to the independence movement. The masses cannot do this fully unless they understand every step with all its implications. This is impossible unless every step is explained in their own languages (ibid., pp. 19-20).

XII

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

For all-India intercourse we need a language which the largest number of people already know and understand and which the others can easily pick up. This language is indisputably Hindi. . . . It is called Urdu when it is written in the Urdu character. The Congress, in the resolution passed at the Kanpur session in 1925, called this all-India speech Hindustani. . . . Such national language should enable one to understand and speak both forms of speech and write in both the scripts.

Our love of the masses must be skin-deep if we will not take the trouble of spending over learning Hindustani as many months as the years we spend over learning English (ibid., p. 20).

XIII

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

This is the master key to non-violent independence (ibid., p. 20).

A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdi-

cation of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good.

We have moneyed Congressmen in the organization. They have to lead the way (ibid., p. 21).

Every Congressman has to ask himself what he has done towards the attainment of economic equality (ibid., p. 22).

XIV
KISANS

Those who would know my method of organizing *kisans* may profitably study the movement in Champaran. This became a mass movement which remained wholly non-violent from start to finish. It affected over twenty lakhs of *kisans*. The struggle centred round one specific grievance which was a century old. There had been several violent revolts to get rid of the grievance. The *kisans* were suppressed. The non-violent remedy succeeded in full in six months. The *kisans* of Champaran became politically conscious without any direct effort. The tangible proof of the working of non-violence to remove their grievance drew them to the Congress and . . . they gave a good account of themselves during the past civil disobedience campaigns.

The reader may also profitably study the *kisan* movement in Kheda, Bardoli and Borsad.

The secret of success lies in a refusal to exploit the *kisans* for political purposes outside their own personal and felt grievances (ibid., p. 22).

XV
LABOUR

Ahmedabad Labour Union is a model for all India to copy. Its basis is non-violence, pure and simple. It has never had a set-back in its career. It has gone on from strength to strength without fuss and without show. It has its hospital, its schools for the children of the mill hands, its classes for adults, its own printing and khadi depot, and its own residential quarters. Almost all the hands are voters and decide the fate of elections. . . . The organization has never taken part in party politics of the Congress. It influences the municipal policy of the city. It has to its credit very successful strikes which were wholly non-violent. Millowners and labour have governed their relations largely through voluntary arbitration. If I had my way, I would regulate all the labour organizations of India after the Ahmedabad model (ibid., p. 23).

XVI

ADIVASIS (Aboriginals)

Adivasis means literally original inhabitants. Service of *adivasis* is also a part of the constructive programme.

Who can deny that all such service is not purely humanitarian but solidly national, and brings us nearer to true independence? (ibid., p. 24).

XVII

LEPERS

India is perhaps a home of lepers next only to Central Africa. They are as much a part of society as the tallest among us and are much in need of attention. But their lot is studied neglect.

If India was pulsating with new life, there would not be a leper or beggar in the country uncared for and unaccounted for (ibid., pp. 24-25).

XVIII
STUDENTS

They have a standing invitation to come to my university and join me in my search. Here are the terms:

1. They must not take part in party politics.

2. They may not resort to political strikes. . . . Their devotion to their heroes is to be shown by copying the best in them, not by going on strikes. . . . On no account may they use coercion against dissentients or against the authorities.

3. They must all do sacrificial spinning in a scientific spirit. Their tools shall be always neat, clean and in good order and condition. If possible they will learn to make them themselves. Their yarn will be of the highest quality. They will study the literature about spinning with all its economic, social, moral and political implications.

4. They will be khadi-users all through and use village products to the exclusion of all analogous things, foreign or machine-made.

5. They may not impose *Vande Mataram* or the National Flag on others.

6. They may harbour neither communalism nor untouchability in their hearts. They will cultivate real friendship with students of other faiths and with Harijans as if they were their own kith and kin.

7. They will give first aid to their injured neighbours and do scavenging and cleaning in the neighbouring villages and instruct village children and adults.

8. They will learn the national language Hindustani in its present double dress, two forms of speech and two scripts.

9. They will translate into their mother tongue anything new they may learn and transmit it within weekly rounds to the surrounding villages.

10. They will do nothing in secret, they will be above board in all their dealings, they will lead a pure life of self-restraint, shed all fear and be always ready to protect their weak fellow-students, and be ready to quell riots by non-violent conduct at the risk of their lives. . . .

11. They will be scrupulously correct and chivalrous in their behaviour towards their girl fellow-students.

For working out the programme I advise patriotic students to lose one year, not at a stretch, but spread it over their whole study. They will

find that one year so given will not be a waste of time. The effort will add to their equipment, mental, moral and physical. . . . (ibid., pp. 26-28).

PLACE OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

It has three different functions:

1. It can be effectively offered for the redress of a local grievance.

2. It can be offered without regard to effect, though aimed at a particular wrong or evil, by way of self-immolation in order to rouse local consciousness or conscience. Such was the case in Champaran when I offered civil disobedience without any regard to the effect and well knowing that even the people might remain apathetic.

3. In the place of full response to constructive effort, it can be offered as it was in 1941. Though it was part of the battle for freedom, it was purposely centred round a particular issue, i.e., free speech. Civil disobedience can never be directed for a general cause such as independence. The issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield. This method properly applied must lead to the final goal.

In the first two cases no elaborate constructive programme [is] necessary. [But] civil disobedience in terms of independence without the co-operation of the millions by way of constructive effort is mere bravado and worse than useless (ibid., pp. 28-29).

CONCLUSION

For my handling of civil disobedience without the constructive programme will be like a paralysed hand attempting to lift a spoon (ibid., p. 29).

APPENDIX

IMPROVEMENT OF CATTLE

Should be included as one more item in the constructive programme (ibid., p. 30).

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

M. K. GANDHI:

Autobiography
Satyagraha in South Africa
Satyagraha
Truth is God
Non-violence in Peace and War
Self-restraint v. Self-indulgence
Ashram Observances in Action
Removal of Untouchability
Untouchability
For Workers against Untouchability
Hindu Dharma
My Religion
Christian Missions
Cent Per Cent Swadeshi
The Way to Communal Harmony
Drink, Drugs and Gambling
Khadi
Rebuilding Our Villages
Basic Education
Women and Social Injustice
Key to Health
Medium of Instruction

*All these books have been published by the Navajivan Trust.

Economic and Industrial Life and Relations
Thoughts on National Language
Hindi and English in the South
To Students
How to Serve the Cow?

RAJENDRAPRASAD:

Satyagraha in Champaran

MAHADEV DESAI:

Story of Bardoli
A Righteous Struggle

VALJI DESAI:

A Gandhi Anthology I, II
Cow Protection
The Shastras on Untouchability
Glances at Islam

BY MAHATMA GANDHI

	Rs.P.
A Gandhi Anthology, I & II	1.00
Ashram Observances in Action	1.00
Bread Labour	0.25
Congress and Its Future	0.40
Co-operation	0.75
Gift of Gold	0.40
India's Food Problem	0.40
From Yeravda Mandir	0.60
Satyagraha in South Africa	5.00
Selected Letters, I	0.44
,, ,, II	0.45
My Socialism	0.50
What Jesus Means to Me	0.35
Co-operative Farming	0.20
New and Old Gleanings	0.60
Non-violent Way to World Peace	0.35
Prohibition at any Cost	0.50
Strikes	0.30
The Gospel of Renunciation	0.35
The Thought of Mahatma Gandhi	0.50
Trusteeship	0.25
Untouchability	0.25
Village Industries	0.25

Postage etc. extra

Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad 380 014